

Pragmatic Study of Discourse Hegemony on the Enactment of Dhalang Trah in Ruwatan Ceremony: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

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Abstract

This study applies qualitative research with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1995) and the criticism on the ideological dissection of social opacities. The data collection encompasses the interactive and non-interactive techniques which involve the techniques of in-depth interviewing, observation and content analysis. Results of the analysis reveal that units of language use reflected from the texts and contexts of the ruwat puppeteer based genealogy's enactment can be traced from the use of modalities, the phrase 'mboten kalilan' (impermissible, unable) in the decree of dhalang ruwat can be further extend to express the word 'unable' and 'able to', other aspects such as politeness, metaphors, ethos which is classified into the verbal and non-verbal discourse are the devices of discursive enactment of the elite power of dhalang trah. The findings conclude that there is arising symptoms of social inequality narrowing the role and significance of the non-ruwat puppeteers. The hegemonic practice such as the discursive enactment of dhalang trah (descendent of Ki Lebdajiwa) is determined by certain associations which try to normalize certain condition. The argument which refers to the enactment of Ki Lebdajiwa and his descendants as the holder of power is enacted through transactional form, where power is centered on one point.

Keywords: *the true puppeteer; genealogy; ruwatan; wayang kulit; social power inequality*

INTRODUCTION

System of power in society has long been set and successfully divided people into groups or categories of social class or strata. The social class arises to distinguish the communities' interaction and social activities. The study of language and culture in the community and their social - ethnical phenomena often associated with the issues surrounding the language styles of certain class to the other. Studies on the ethnography of communication often position language as a vehicle of the socio-cultural enactment of domination among the people of groups, this very well-known with the term 'hegemony' studied by the notable linguists of anthropology such as Gumperz (1982), Hymes (1996), Foley (1990), Bourdieu (1991).

Bearing the importance of the issue, this study is an effort to assess and explain the phenomenon of hegemonic practices in discourse through Critical Discourse Studies in a scoop of pragmatics perspective on discourse which strengthens the true puppeteers (the legitimate) based on and their effects on the traditional ceremony of ruwatan in Central Java.

Javanese people as one of the largest race in the Indonesian archipelagos have unique system of traditional beliefs. Among the uniqueness is found in the ritual of personal cleanse. The Javanese who are ritually unprotected due to having born into disadvantageous sibling order traditionally deemed to have fallen into sukerta. People of sukerta need to be ritually cleansed through

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performing a ruwatan ceremony. The term of ruwatan was derived from the root word *wat* means 'to slip away from'. Then the term ruwatan can be specified to a meaning to slip away from *sukerta* 'spirit disturbance'. *Ngruwat* can also mean to be restored or returned to the original condition, which in further means to resist against calamities. The Javanese people divided individuals into *sukerta*, for example, to those who are *ontang anting* 'the only boy in the family, with no brothers and sisters', those who are *unting-unting* 'the only girl in the family', and those who are *gendhana-gendhini* 'just a boy and a girl in the family' (Soetarno 2004, p.53, Weiss 2010, p. 23).

Ruwatan tradition as many people still found today in the Javanese community is a cleansing ritual which is often performed with an accompanying *wayang* 'puppet' in which *Bhatara Kalas*' life is recounted through the enactment of the *Murwakala* story. *Wayang kulit* or shadow puppet performance is a traditional Javanese art play using a doll made of leather with *dhalang* as the master who controls the flow of the performance while seated behind the light source (Weiss 2006, p.5). In ruwatan puppet plays, every puppeteer would take full responsibility for the running of the play and is responsible for the safety of those who need to be exorcised, a cleansing ritual for the host family, and the crew puppeteer. For the puppeteer, it is a must to do anything in accordance with the guidelines before and after performances being conducted.

The differences between the ruwat or non-ruwat can be clearly seen from the specific guideline or provision which are traditionally practiced by both puppeteers. For example, anyone who is traditionally and spiritually deemed to be a puppeteer should perform *ngirangi* 'fasting' and certainly there is a significant difference between the puppeteers at the time of performing the puppet play in regard of the ruwatan ceremony. In addition, the ruwat puppeteers as a traditional artist and actor who is trusted by the community to hold the ruwatan ritual procession are not just any puppeteer. *Dhalang ruwat* must meet certain eligible

criteria to be referred as the true puppeteer. According to Subalidinata, et al., (1985), the only puppeteers permitted to hold the ruwatan ceremony with the play are the people who should be included in some classifications; (a) a puppeteer must be a *dhalang sejati* 'true puppeteer', a descendent of an ordained true puppeteer, (b) the social status of the puppeteer determined by his activeness of being a role model to the community or 'beyond reproach' and also the one bears into a kind of people who should be included *yuswa sepuh* 'has reached the age of 50', (c) he who has ever performed certain practical rituality and is capable of *ngirangi* 'to be able to lessen his worldly desire including eating, sleep, intercourse, and anything regarding the preparation to the performance.

Most of today's puppeteers especially the non-genealogical puppeteers of ruwat do not dare to break the myth boundaries of ruwat puppeteers despite these puppeteers are among the eligible people and having better understanding on the rules of the Javanese ritual tradition including the procedures before and after the ritual. However, there still a number of non-descended ruwat puppeteers who transformed into ruwat puppeteer, even the newcomers puppeteers as if appear without being taken into processes (read: *tiban*). The legitimate existence of ruwat puppeteers dynasty was supported by most of the public acknowledgment. General public would not want to invite the non-descended ruwat puppeteers (genealogy) my King, Ki Panjangmas. People perceive that the non-descended puppeteers do not have the spiritual strength to cleanse *sukerta*, despite the puppeteers are qualified in terms of common knowledge, and the level of religious spirituality. This implies that most of the Javanese communities still have better understanding concerning the limits of the surrounding culture, tradition and values.

The term hegemony is introduced by Antonio Gramsci to describe forms of the social class domination. The term is now associated as an influence on anything to anything in respect of ideological influence and the implications which do not reap

much rejection (Bruce & Yearly 2006, p. 33, Storey, 2009, p.10). The concept of hegemony defined by Gramsci and then further described by Suarez (2002, p.513) indicates "the intellectual and moral leadership undertake through the consent and persuasion" and which 'covers' the three processes simultaneously: leadership without coercion, through leadership legitimacy, leadership by the rules agreed.

Jowett and O'Donnell (2006) classify the informative and persuasive discourse employed by the speakers to propagate. Both the informative and persuasive discourse provide a view of the recipients (the reader and listener) by letting them to get information, understand the environment and learn from the things (Jowett & O'Donnell 2006, p.30). While the speaker or writer of persuasive message has an interest to make the recipients accept to his opinion, as if their interests are not in contrast with the interests of the recipients' (Jowett & O'Donnell 2006, p. 31-32). On the other hand, propaganda is intended to secure the interests of the propagandists, regardless of the interests owned by the same speakers and receivers of the message.

The propagandist is very likely to appear as a persuader with a stated purpose that appears to promote interactive dependency. In reality, however, the propagandist wants to promote his or her own interests or those of an organization, sometimes at the expense of the recipients, sometimes not. The point is that the propagandist does not regard the well-being of the audience as a primary concern (Jowett & O'Donnell 2006, p.44).

The recipients of manipulative discourse do not fully aware of the language structure which can affect their perceptions. Characteristics of the manipulative discourse and propaganda lay on their impact on the situation or context in which the imbalance power is of the manipulators' contentment. Therefore, it would be difficult for the public to understand the persuasive discourse and propaganda, especially when certain community believes that the source of commu-

nication is reliable, and can be accounted in terms of the socio-cultural role.

To see a language as discourse drives us to the whole process of interaction of linguistic complexity between communities and generate people of text understanding. Halliday (1977, 1978) argues that language is strongly associated with an important aspect of the human experience, which is the aspect of social structure. Halliday purposed that the language is the product of social processes. Halliday's view was further clarified and made explicit by Fairclough (1995), his views on the relationship between the microstructure of the text and structure of the macro social and cultural aspects are determinative.

Fairclough (1995) proposed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a medium of analysis to dissect the blurriness phenomena in the social structure which is formed by the ideological power relations and efforts to resist the power (Locke, 2004, p.1). Althusser (in Storey 2009) explained that basically the ideology is not just a summary of ideas, but also the material practices. Ideology as a material practice, its presence may form individuals to be the subject pattern of ideas and certain behavior, an ideology encompasses the practices of everyday life in the community. The cultural practices such as ritual and custom affect the community into a social order, of course, these rules are marked by inequality in wealth, social status and power (Storey 2009, p.5-78). Janks (1994, p.15) describes CDA as an effort to raise awareness on how people use language to enforce and challenge forms of power relations through discourse. Concerning how this tool works gives an overview of the CDA, language researchers realize the choices of verbal and non-verbal aspects of use in texts and the mechanisms of the use in supporting the hegemonic discourse development (Locke 2004, p.39).

Relevant studies of discourse hegemony in cultural traditions and productions conducted by Barbero (1993) who examined the process of enculturation to see the production of culture aimed at the popular culture. He emphasized that there is

no hegemony or counter hegemony without cultural circulation. Through making up the stories and images, it gradually evolves a form of cultural production which has both mediated between and separated the classes. Weiss (2003, 2006, 2010,) revealed the phenomenon of wayang 'puppet' in Central Java which transcends the boundaries between entertainment and ritual which is still evident in the ruwatan ceremony, and the embodiment and aesthetic in Javanese performance. Ramli and Lugiman (2011) studied shadow puppet show as a medium to narrate stories in modern society, and Ratnatada et al. (2011) studied the development of Thai puppet shadow show with modern technology, he indicated that the use of puppet shadow is to serve as a solution to the conservation, development, and dissemination of Thailand's cultural heritage. This study examined the phenomenon of hegemonic discourse in both texts and contexts of ruwatan ceremony, the analysis focus on the role of dhalang trah, the descendants of dhalang Ki Lebdajiwa/Ki Panjangmas and the non-trah or the non-descendant.

METHODS

This study is a qualitative research method applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Fairclough (1995) and the criticism on the ideological dissection opacities in the social structure by focusing on the study of discourse to social change. In analyzing social practices Fairclough (1995) focuses on the political discourse events which relate to power and domination. The analytical feature formulated by Fairclough (1995) in his framework has tried to combine the theory of power based on the concept of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, with discourse practice based on the intertextuality concept (rather interdiscursivity or interdiscourse). On that basis, Fairclough (1995) model of discourse analysis applied to the use of modality, ethos, wording and name creation, and the use of metaphors to describe the phenomenon of hegemony in the discourse of true puppeteers or the puppeteers based genealogy enactment in the ruwatan ceremony of Murwakala's puppet shadow show (Wa-

yang Kulit).

The data collection technique in this study is divided into two categories, which are the interactive and non-interactive data collections (Compte & Goetz 1984 in Sutopo 2002, p. 58). Both are described to involve three techniques, they are the; (1) in-depth interviewing technique with participants; questions are open-ended, unstructured and leads to the depth information on a variety of the deepest, hidden and secret information to reveal and gain better understanding on the case, (2) observation; researchers directly involved in field study surrounding puppeteers environment to know the procession of the ruwat puppeteers, (3) Content analysis is applied to analyze the existing various documents of ruwatan (ritual cleansing ceremony), comparing the existing situation in the field, observing the differences on meanings, purposes, and all sorts (Yin 1987 in Sutopo 2002, p. 69).

DISCUSSION

The elite class of ruwat puppeteers domination, as far as the researcher's concern is a fundamental reproduction which differentiate the systematic pattern and specific inter-ethnic Javanese people, especially on the art puppetry involvement. In this paper, the linguistic aspects of Fairclough (Locke in 1995, 2004, p. 46-51) is used as a tool to explain the phenomena of hegemony in the socio-cultural tradition a ritual cleansing ceremony and the discourse confirming the domination of ruwat puppeteers against non-ruwat puppeteers.

Modality

With respect to grammar refers to the arguments supported through the language units of use to express power. It can be understood from the use of auxiliary verbs capital as a verb stone on the use of 'able to/can and must', by these type of words it can be understood from the impacts of the hegemonic discourse on the linguistic units. The implementation of linguistic units reflected from the auxiliary verbs (modality) use of the word 'must' on the discourse of genealogy-based puppeteers so called dhalang sejati

'the true puppeteer' indicate the presence of a hegemonic practices legitimizing the role of the true puppeteers which enable them to gain access to the ruwatan ceremony conducting the ritual cleansing . It is clearly socially (authority) and economical (material) benefiting only the elite group of genealogy-based puppeteers. The hegemonic practice in the discourse of dhalang trah can be seen in SK (Serat Kekancingan/ a decree issued by Sultan Agung), it is found the modality use indicating the hegemonic practices in the area of puppetry:

[.....] *Kajawi punika, wiyosing dhawuh pangandika-Dalem, para abdi-Dalem dhalang sadaya mboten kalilan Angruwat Amurwakala, kajawi Kyai Mulya Lebdaqjiwa, punika dipun absahaken angruwat. Sanadyan para dhalang ing padhusunan, manawi angruwat kedah nedha idhi dhateng Kyai Mulya Lebdaqjiwa, utawi dhateng saturun-turunipun ing tembe wingking, ingkang sami anggentosi kalengghanipun* (R Tanaja 1971, 44-45)...

Translation:

In addition to that, all the servants of the King of among the Puppeteers are impermissible to conduct ngruwat Murwakala (purification) except Kyai Mulya Lebdaqjiwa and is ratified angruwat. Although the puppeteers who intend to perform ruwatan are incumbent to ask permission from Kyai Mulya Lebdaqjiwa or the descendents who in the future will take his position.

The figure of dhalang sejati 'the true puppeteer' based genealogy ' must be from the descendant of dhalang Ki Panjangmas or Ki Lebdaqjiwa descendants both of father or mother side (Rusdy 2012, p. 42). On the statement in the SK of dhalang ruwat, the King uttered a statement 'mboten kalilan' (impermissible, unable) for all puppeteers who are not from the descendents of Ki Lebdaqjiwa to angruwat 'or conduct a ritual cleanse' . In addition to uttering a lingual unit in the form of modal or auxiliary verb which reflect the use of 'unable', there are also other use of modalities such as 'able to' literarily refers to an argument a person who is able to take the position of ruwat puppe-

teer bears into a condition, the person must obtain an official permission and approval of the sound teacher in advance. The use of verbal aspect of modality in the text of decree on ritual performance represents forms of hegemony that in practice restrict the non-ruwat puppeteers to involve or conduct ritual cleansing ceremony . In this case, the impacts on the socio-economic stability and prosperity are inevitably afflicted the non-ruwat puppeteers.

Wording and the word meaning

Wording relates to the aspect of vocabulary which provides a way to represent ideas into a word. It is linguistically to represent meaning that can be worded in which a view of an object shaped and framed in different ways, such as the creation of the term 'terrorist' can be worded in different meaning which is the 'freedom fighters'.

"mulane aku wenang angruwat amarga aku turas ki Panjangmas, banjur maringi palilah ki Kadamsari, ki Kadamsari maringi palilah marang ki Karsono, ki Karsono maringi palilah marang ki Kande, ki Kande maringi palilah marang ki Kasino, ki Kasino maringi palilah marang ki Surono ya aku sang dalang Sejati".

Translation

"I'm entitled to purify 'angruwat' because I am a descendant of Ki Panjangmas, who gave his blessing to the Ki Kadamsari, Ki Kadamsari then gave his blessing to the Ki Karsono, Ki Karsono then gave his blessing to the Ki Kande, Ki Kande then gave his blessing to the Ki Kasino, Ki Kasino gave his blessing to the Ki Surono, and here I am the true puppeteer ".

From the finding data, the strategic use of wording realized in the phrase dhalang sejati 'the true puppeteer' qualifies puppeteers according to their genealogy. Indeed, the use of such phrase becomes an indicator to legitimate or strengthen the domination of the ruwat puppeteers of dhalang Ki Lebdaqjiwa's descendants against the non-ruwat puppeteers. Additionally, the term dhalang sejati may imply the hegemonic practices which leads to power inequality in society to an extent legitimizes the position

of dhalang associated with genealogy. In that point, it says that anyone who occupies a position as dhalang or puppeteers is consequently deemed to be insignificant in the presence of the ritual cleansing ceremony or ruwatan. Genealogy-based puppeteers are the puppeteers or dhalang who acquire prerogative status and was confirmed to conduct ritual cleansing ceremony. It can be concluded from that discourse, the creation of wording and the meaning as well as its implications on the discourse dhalang sejati 'the true puppeteers' clearly support the hegemonic practice of 'Ki Panjangmas' genealogy puppeteers.

In addition to this, people of higher social strata involve in the creation of a concept of only the descendant from a figure of Ki Panjangmas should run the ritual cleansing ceremony 'ruwatan'. The concept has clearly marginalized the other non-descendant puppeteers. The shifting of meaning happens on the phrase dhalang sejati 'the true puppeteer' describes the eligible person to run the ruwatan ceremony has made the meaning as if stable and lack of contradiction in the supporting community's minds. Despite the meaning contains in dhalang sejati semantically reflects a deep meaning negating the significant role of the non-descendant puppeteers in the Javanese ceremony, the ideological influence and the implications of dhalang sejati associated with puppeteers' genealogy', this concept finally would not reap much rejection in the supporting community (Bruce & Yearly 2006, p. 33, Storey 2009, p. 10). For such term also supports Dale's comment (1989 in Locke, 2004, p. 50) that there is the making of 'sense legitimation' emphasizing on the creation of certain words (wording) which relates to the practice of hegemonic discourse.

Politeness

This tool relates to the attributive property of language power (force). Power of a language is closely related to the use of speech acts including speech acts of promising, declaring, demanding, threatening, etc. In the discourse of enacting the genealogy-based puppeteers as the legitimate ruwat puppe-

teers fall into type of directive-performative speech acts reflected from a statement confirming the power status of Ki Lebda Jiwa and the descendants as the true puppeteers. The King once has uttered the word 'ing samangke kyai Lebda Jiwa kaparingan nama kyai Mulya inggih kyai Mulya Lebda Jiwa, lestantuna dados kekasih-Dalem' (now Ki Lebda Jiwa named Kyai Mulya or Kyai Mulya Lebda Jiwa who remains a favorite and beloved person to the King). The utterance within such directive speech acts which covers the pragmatic meaning of speech acts uttered by the most influential person to the Javanese communities clearly direct the Javanese community to do something, which is to accept the reality that only Ki Lebda Jiwa and the descendants are eligible to undertake the ruwatan ceremony.

In line with the above arguments, the passive sentence structure formed to eliminate the subject of utterance appears in the data. This implies that as if enacting Ki Lebda Jiwa and the descendants as a all the time ruwat puppeteer was not from the King's own willingness, but from the role that he took place in the palace to say that Ki Lebda Jiwa deserves honor and reward for his devotion to the ruler of the palace. Politeness is built on the basis of between the discourse producers and the recipients are all maintaining each other's face on the utterances perceived to be polite. Through politeness, certain linguistic units (words, phrases or clauses) can be described as an aspect of language that shows the relationships between the social power and hegemonic practices.

By the time ruwatan ceremony was held especially in the scene before the writings (sastra cethak, dhadha, gigir, pedati) in the body of Bhatara Kala by puppet figure named dhalang Kanda Buwana, is the embodiment of the god Vishnu. At the scene of Bhatara Kala asked 'why do you have the right to read the writings in my body and cleanse people in this village?'. The dhalang Kanda Buwana answered "I was named the dhalang Kanda Buwana or dhalang sejati. The linguistic units which support the creation of politeness is an indicator of the

legitimacy practice in the discourse of ruwat puppeteer. Moreover the use of pronouns (including personal pronouns), for example, the mention of dhalang sejati in the context of implementing the cultural values of action to support the genealogy-based puppeteer leadership every aspect of ritual implying the practice of manipulation. Thus, any interest supported the group of manipulators undertaken without suspicion. This situation confirms the statements of Jowett & O'Donnell (2006, p. 44) that the discourse recipients do not aware he or she becomes the subject of manipulative discourse, they are not fully aware if structure of language affects perception, as was done in the speakers' utterances.

Metaphors

Metaphor encompasses the use of simile (figurative words), personification, and metonymy. Fairclough (1992a: 194) pointed out that the structural metaphors include matters related to the way we think and act, our belief systems and knowledge that substantially permeate. Johnson (1987, in Duranti 1997, p. 38) it explains as process 'by which we understand and structure one domain of experience in terms of another domain of a different kind'. In this sense, metaphor is a replacement of certain case or event with another term as an analogy based on the experience of the speakers. At the time of dhalang Kanda Buwana referred himself as the true puppeteer is a metaphorical representation of Ki Surono as the chosen ruwat puppeteer according to the consensus of the local culture. Metaphors reflect what people think, experience, and what they feel in their daily lives (Lakoff and Johnson 2003, p. 3). The true puppeteer is a realization of metonymical metaphor and a term which proceeded through analogy, experienced, felt, and agreed by the Javanese community to refer to someone who has a hereditary quality (genealogy) of an official puppeteer to king and was confirmed to conduct ruwatan ceremony. By uttering the phrase dhalang sejati then the pragmatic functions of such term may replace the impact of mentioning qualities of the puppeteer such as the elite

class and a high stratified puppeteer.

Through strategic use of wording, the personal figure of Ki Lebdajiwa can be described as a 'true puppeteer' and 'a valid chief of ruwatan ceremony according to the local customs'. This interpretation depends on the discourse frame. The words which formed into metaphors may also be categorized in a neutral setting of a particular culture; made it as if invisible. For instance, the meaning of the true puppeteer' neutralized with reference of the same meaning as 'goods with a non-imitation quality' as negating the existence of the non-descendent puppeteers. In such cases, the social strata of the descendant puppeteers (of Ki Lebdajiwa) is radically constructed in different ways and raise different effects in the supporters' minds.

The language structure particularly of various grammatical forms is a metaphor for hegemony. Gramsci (1992) views language as meaning production also includes metaphorical process. Meaning is not only produced through the relationship between a person's words with objects or things beyond the language 'The whole of language is a continuous process of metaphor, and the history of semantics is an aspect of the history of culture; language is at the same time a living thing and museum of fossils of life and civilizations'. (Gramsci 1992 in Ives, 2004, p. 85). Based on this view, Gramsci emphasizes that meaning is created through the development of metaphoric language with respect to the previous meaning (Ives 2004, p. 88). He rejected the view which says all aspects of language as a mere composition of names.

Ethos

This element of discourse analysis relates to social identity (of community) which is implicitly indicated by the verbal and nonverbal behaviors. To illustrate this, Fairclough (1992a, p. 166) uses the example of a medical practitioner who is trying to construct his surgical room as if the patients would regard it as if their own homes, by redecorating furniture and change the décor in such a way.

When the puppet shadow show was performed and then the story was narrated

by the puppeteer in the ruwatan Murwakala. In the narration, it is told that the god of Vishnu transformed himself into a figure of puppeteer/dhalang Kandha Buwana, he came down to earth to lead the ruwatan, the stage setting depicted in these scenes is where the ruwatan ceremony and performance take place, for example, initials use of the puppet characters' names in each narrated exactly like the name of the host or the angruwat people.

Verbal, the verbal aspect in the discourse of puppeteers' genealogy enactment refers to everything said and narrated by a puppeteer during the ruwatan performance. In particular, when the ruwatan or ritual cleansing performance is about to begin, normally, the puppeteer asked among the pregnant audiences to leave the area of ritual until the completion of the ruwatan performance. This is done so that those pregnant audiences will not suffer from miscarriage due to the effect of magical words recited by the puppeteer. Non-verbal, the non-verbal aspect reflects the hegemonic practice in discourse of dhalang ruwat enactment. The event initially describes that at the time the puppeteer Kandha Bhuwana or dhalang sejati chanted the mantras of ruwatan, and then he asked the sound system be reduced or make the sound inactive. Bearing this situation rationally, there are possibilities to infer this as a type of hegemony, the puppeteer seems to intentionally recite the mantras strictly confidential and as if the only true puppeteer of Ki Lebdajiwa's descendant deserves to master and practice the ritual.

Among the units of language use which refer to the practice of hegemony within the Javanese salvation 'ruwatan' ceremony, especially to the community of dhalang has been used to enact power relation of the Ki Lebdajiwa. The hegemony of dhalang trah or puppeteers' genealogy impacted to both the community of puppeteers and the supporting community to ruwatan ceremony. The problem emerging from this situation is, in case any family of the community would like to conduct the ruwatan ceremony, they would invite a ruwat puppeteer from somewhere in a distant (neighboring regi-

on). Then each member of the community started to feel difficult to follow the requirement due to spending additional expenditure to reward these ruwat puppeteers. As the time goes by, people in the village of Batu was started to seek for an alternative turns in search of the enlightenment through a means which can equally be functioned in ruwatan and satisfied the interests of the community as well. The entering of religious belief understanding and knowledge of new cultures, and in addition to the conditions of Indonesia during post-'98, the beginning of the monetary crisis, the ruwat puppeteers have come to a significant decline on the ruwatan performance percentages.

CONCLUSION

In order to get a comprehensive understanding towards the hegemonic practices and social inequality manifested in the discourse of the ruwat puppeteers, domains of application, linguistic aspects such as the creation of special term and words embodied in the language units. Results of the analysis reveal that units of language use reflected from the texts and contexts of the ruwat puppeteers' genealogy enactment can be traced from the use of auxiliary verb (modality), the phrase 'mboten kalilan' (impermissible, unable) in the decree of dhalang ruwat can be further extend to words 'unable' and able to, other aspects such as politeness, metaphors, ethos which is divided into the aspects of verbal and non-verbal discourse are the devices of discursive enactment of the elite power such as dhalang trah or puppeteers' genealogy.

The findings fundamentally conclude that there is arising symptoms of social inequality through narrowing the role and significance of non-puppeteer in the Javanese tradition of supporting ruwatan sukerta 'ritual cleansing' by staging the performance of Wayang Kullit Murwakala. The hegemonic practice such as the discursive enactment of dhalang trah (descendent of Ki Lebdajiwa) is determined by certain associations, trying to normalize certain condition. The argument which refers to the enactment of Ki Lebdajiwa and his descendants as the hol-

der of the power of indigenous decent occur until eventually only lead to enact the transactional form, where power is centered on one point.

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